

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: CDU PLANNING LONG TERM STRATEGY

SUMMARY: A SMALL GROUP OF CDU POLITICIANS, LED BY SECRETARY GENERAL BIEDENKOPF AND BUNDESTAG DEPUTY VON WEIZSAECKER, ARE DRAFTING A LONG TERM STRATEGY PAPER FOR THE CDU AS THE BASIS FOR THE UNION'S NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN 1976 AND AN EVENTUAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAM SHOULD THE UNION ENTER THE GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR. THE PAPER WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE JUNE NATIONAL CONVENTION. AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE GROUP IS ATTEMPTING TO COMBINE THE IDEAS CONTAINED IN A "SECRET" PAPER PREPARED BY BIEDENKOPF STRESSING THE NEED FOR A GREATER SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND A TWO-PART SERIES OF ARTICLES BY VON WEIZSAECKER IN "DIE ZEIT," CALLING FOR A REDUCTION OF EXPECTATIONS GIVEN THE

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ESCALATING COSTS OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS. END

SUMMARY

1. THE BIEDENKOPF PAPER, WE ARE TOLD BY SOURCES IN THE CDU, STRESSES THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE (IN ORDER TO COPE WITH FUTURE PROBLEMS) BY DEEPENING THE SENSE OF CITIZEN IDENTIFICATION WITH THE FRG. ONE IMPORTANT COMPONENT WILL BE A GREATER AWARENESS OF GERMAN HISTORICAL ROOTS. BIEDENKOPF HAS STRESSED THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WAS AN ARTIFICIAL CONSTRUCTION CREATED IN 1949 WITHOUT A HISTORICAL TRADITION AND THAT IN THE SUCCEEDING 26 YEARS, LITTLE HAD BEEN DONE TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY WHICH COULD DRAW UPON THE ROOTS OF PRE-NAZI GERMAN HISTORY. THE GERMANS, HE SAID, DEVOTED THEIR FULL ENERGIES IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD TO ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION ("DAS WIRTSCHAFTSWUNDER") AND INTERNAL SOCIAL REFORM ("GESELLSCHAFTSPOLITIK"). BIEDENKOPF FELT THAT THE LACK OF NATIONAL IDENTITY HINDERED THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC FROM PLAYING A GREATER ROLE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. THE NEED FOR A SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY, HE BELIEVED, WILL BE EVEN GREATER IN THE FUTURE AS THE POPULACE WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO DEPEND UPON ECONOMIC GROWTH TO FINANCE GERMAN INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES (I.E., PART OF THE WEALTH PRODUCED IN GERMANY WILL HAVE TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO OTHERS OUTSIDE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN THE FORM OF LOANS TO HELP TRADING PARTNERS WITH BOP PROBLEMS, DEVELOPMENT AID, ETC.).

2. A SUBSIDIARY THEME OF BIEDENKOPF'S PAPER IS THAT POWERFUL INTEREST GROUPS IN GERMANY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE GAINS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE TOTAL SOCIETY AND THAT THIS IMBALANCE SHOULD BE REDRESSED BY RE-ESTABLISHING A SENSE OF DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE WHOLE SOCIETY. BIEDENKOPF ALSO CALLED FOR GOING SLOWER ON SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND ATTACKING THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FOR THEIR MISTAKES IN CARRYING OUT REFORM OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.

3. THE VON WEIZSAECKER ARTICLES, WHILE NOT IN CONFLICT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITH BIEDENKOPF'S VIEWS, HAVE A DIFFERENT EMPHASIS. VON WEIZSAECKER BELIEVES THAT THE SHRINKING ECONOMIC BASE RESULTING FROM, AMONG OTHER THINGS, DECLINING POPULATION AND SHORTER WORK HOURS, WILL BE UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EXPANDING COSTS OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS. SUCH A SITUATION COULD LEAD TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF DENMARK TODAY. HE, LIKE BIEDENKOPF, STRESSED THAT THERE WERE GROUPS WITHIN THE SOCIETY (E.G., THE

ELDERLY) WHO HAD NO ORGANIZED INTEREST GROUPS TO PROTECT THEM AND THEREBY SUFFERED IN COMPARISON TO THE HIGHLY ORGANIZED SEGMENTS OF THE SOCIETY. CITING THE RAPIDLY RISING COSTS OF HOSPITALIZATION AND RETIREMENT BENEFITS, VON WEIZSAECKER CALLED FOR A PROGRAM THAT WOULD EXPLAIN TO THE POPULACE THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY IN THE FUTURE TO REDUCE EXPECTATIONS IF THE STATE WERE NOT TO GO BANKRUPT. VON WEIZSAECKER CALLED FOR MORE INDIVIDUAL SELF-

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HELP FOR AVOIDING THE FINANCIAL CRISIS IN SOCIAL WELFARE COSTS. ON THE LATTER POINT HE HAS BEEN CRITICIZED BY SOME CONSERVATIVES WHO ARGUE THAT INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE WILL BE REDUCED IF THE MORE SUCCESSFUL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY ARE CALLED UPON TO MAKE EVEN GREATER

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIETY.

4. VON WEIZSAECKER TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT HE THOUGHT BIEDENKOPF WAS MAKING A MISTAKE BY OVEREMPHASIZING THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL IDENTITY. HE BELIEVED THAT SO LONG AS THERE IS A DIVIDED GERMANY AND THE BASIC LAW PROHIBITS LIMITING NATIONALITY TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, THIS PROBLEM IS NOT SOLUBLE. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAID, TO STRESS IDENTITY WITH "GROSSDEUTSCHLAND" WOULD BE POLITICALLY DANGEROUS. AIDES CLOSE TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HELMUT KOHL, CDU LEADER AND POSSIBLE CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE, CLAIM THAT KOHL AND BIEDENKOPF FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT THE NATIONAL IDENTITY ISSUE AND BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE A PRIMARY PILLAR OF ANY NATIONAL CDU CAMPAIGN. ON THE OTHER HAND, VON WEIZSAECKER TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT HE THOUGHT THAT KOHL AND BIEDENKOPF WERE STRESSING THE NATIONAL IDENTITY ISSUE IN THE HOPE OF COURTING FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS' SUPPORT FOR KOHL'S CANDIDACY.

5. WHILE THE BIEDENKOPF/VON WEIZSAECKER PAPERS MIGHT SEEM ABSTRACT AND OUTSIDE THE REALM OF PRACTICAL POLITICS, GERMAN POLITICIANS, ESPECIALLY COMPARED TO THEIR AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS, TEND TO BE EXTREMELY PROGRAMMATIC. CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT'S PRAGMATISM IS AN EXCEPTION TO THIS RULE. CONSEQUENTLY, PHILOSOPHICAL ATTITUDES PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS.

6. THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THE CDU PAPERS, RENEWED SENSE OF GERMAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND LIMITING FUTURE SOCIAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES, CONTAIN INHERENT POLITICAL PROBLEMS. GIVEN RECENT GERMAN HISTORY, THE QUESTION OF GERMAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND INCREASED NATIONAL SELF-CONFIDENCE PRESENTS PARTICULAR PROBLEMS. AN AGGRESSIVE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN PLAYING ON THESE THEMES COULD WELL FRIGHTEN GERMANY'S NEIGHBORS IN BOTH THE WEST AND THE EAST, ESPECIALLY THE SOVIET UNION. THERE IS ALSO A QUESTION AS TO THE DEGREE OF THE GERMAN PUBLIC'S IDENTIFICATION WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. TO DATE, POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDIES HAVE BEEN INCONCLUSIVE.

7. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT GERMANY FACES FAMILIAR PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN STATE IN COPING WITH ESCALATING COSTS OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE FRG CANNOT AFFORD TO POSTPONE INDEFINITELY COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM. THIS SAID, HOWEVER, A CALL FOR REDUCED EXPECTATIONS AND

MORE SELF-HELP IS NOT LIKELY, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT RUN,  
TO HAVE VERY MUCH POLITICAL APPEAL. THE WORKING AND  
LOWER MIDDLE CLASS GROUPS ARE NOT LIKELY TO RESPOND  
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POSITIVELY BECAUSE OF THE SUSPICION THAT THESE SOCIAL  
GROUPS WILL BE CALLED UPON TO SACRIFICE MORE THAN THE  
WELL-TO-DO. IN ADDITION, WITHIN THE CDU THERE EXISTS A  
LIBERAL MINORITY CLUSTERED AROUND THE SOZIALAUSSCHUESSE  
AND IN THE YOUTH MOVEMENT, WHO ARE NOT LIKELY TO AGREE  
WITH BIEDENKOPF AND VON WEIZSAECKER ON THE NEE TO  
REDUCE SOCIAL WELFARE EXPECTATIONS.

8. THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF IRONY IN VON WEIZ-  
SAECKER'S POSITION IN THAT HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE FAVOR-  
ITE OF THE MORE LIBERAL GROUPS IN THE CDU AND HE NOW  
FINDS HIMSELF IN A POSITION OF RECEIVING PRAISE FROM THE  
MORE CONSERVATIVE CSU. SHOULD THE CDU LONG TERM STRAT-  
EGY EVOLVE IN THE DIRECTION THESE TWO PAPERS INDICATE,  
IT WILL BE IN CONTRAST TO THE LONG TERM SPD STRATEGY  
PAPER, OR-85, AND THE VOTER WILL BE GIVEN A CLEAR CHOICE  
BETWEEN THE TWO PATHS.

HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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